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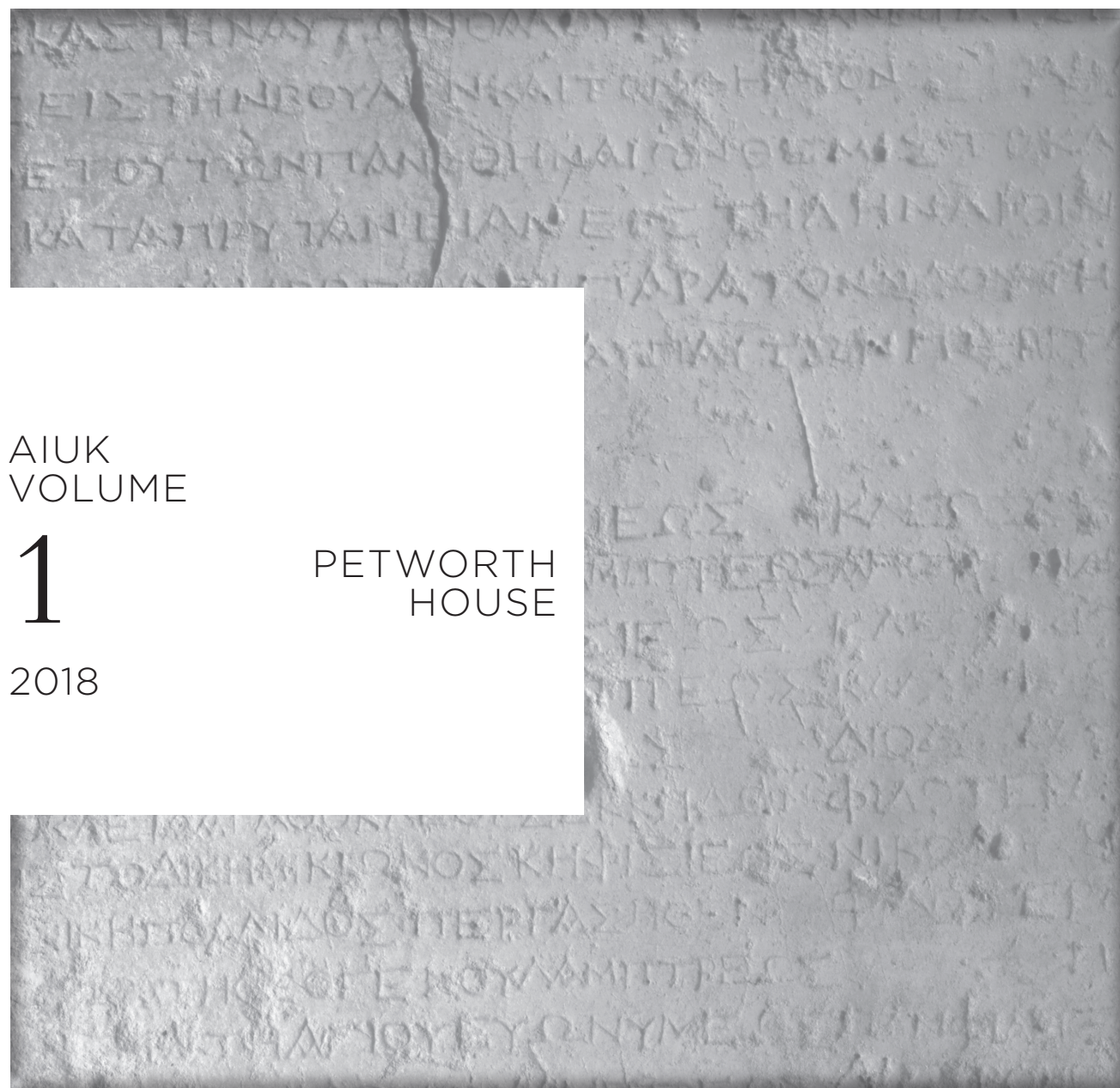
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# Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections **Petworth House**

Stephen Lambert



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1

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## PREFACE

It is a great pleasure to inaugurate our new edition of the Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections (AIUK) with a volume covering the important hellenistic decree in Petworth House, which I spent many happy hours working on with the late Sara Aleshire, shortly before her untimely death in 1997. Our study of the stone eventually resulted in a fresh edition of the inscription, *ZPE* 142, 2003, 65-86, and it is that edition which forms the basis of the one presented here, albeit modified and updated to account for its reception and more broadly for the progress of scholarship over the intervening 15 years. I seek in this edition mainly to build on and supplement the earlier one, and to avoid mere repetition of points made there. In particular the reader interested in epigraphical and prosopographical detail may still find it worthwhile to refer to the 2003 article. To coincide with the publication of this AIUK volume we are releasing a revised translation of the inscription, with lighter annotation, Greek text and images, on the AIO main site, [AIUK vol. 1, no. 1](#), together with revised translations of the two other inscriptions from the same period honouring maidens who worked on Athena's robe, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 + 1943](#) and [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1942](#).

I take this opportunity to thank very warmly Josine Blok, Peter Liddel, S. Douglas Olson, P. J. Rhodes and Irene Vagionakis, for their help in getting this publication into shape, and to the two anonymous referees for their acute and insightful comments on a draft. I thank my brother, Julian, for taking the photographs of the inscription and the National Trust for permission to reproduce them here. Thanks are due also to Hugh Griffiths for his cover design. I am very grateful to Andrew Loukes at Petworth for facilitating our visits in 2017 and to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for their financial support.

Athens, 2018

Stephen Lambert

## ABBREVIATIONS

We use the abbreviations for epigraphical works listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/>, and in addition:

Aleshire-Lambert: S. B. Aleshire and S. D. Lambert, “Making the *Peplos* for Athena: a New Edition of *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1060 + *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1036”, *ZPE* 142, 2003, 65-86.

*Bull. ép.*: *Bulletin épigraphique*, part of the *Revue des Études Grecques*, published annually.

Guilding: R. Guilding, *Owning the Past. Why the English Collected Antique Sculpture, 1640-1840* (2014).

*IG II*: U. Koehler ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora* (I 1877, II 1883, III 1888, IV *Indices* [J. Kirchner] 1893, V Suppl. 1895).

Parker: R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society in Athens* (2005).

Raeder: J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House (West Sussex)* (2000).

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 1: Phonology* (1980); 2: *Morphology* (1996).

Wyndham: M. Wyndham, *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of Lord Leconfield* (1915).

## PETWORTH'S ATTIC INSCRIPTION IN ITS PRESENT-DAY CONTEXT

“Petworth House has been since the sixteenth century a House of Art - a house in which Art was collected and received and in which Art was sponsored and created.”<sup>1</sup> Thus Joachim Raeder in his catalogue of the ancient sculptures of Petworth summarised the distinctive history of this aristocratic country house located in extensive parkland in the West Sussex countryside. The artistic tradition was begun by the Earls of Northumberland, who laid the foundation of today’s extensive collection of 700 European paintings. At the end of the seventeenth century the 6th Duke of Somerset built a house unusual in England for the formality of its architecture. In addition to the creation of an exemplary landscaped garden, in the 1750s Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont (1710-1763), acquired, at immense cost, and mostly via agents in Rome, one of the most substantial collections of Greek and Roman antiquities in England, mostly hellenistic and Roman period originals or copies of classical Greek works, but which also includes a famous head of Aphrodite, “the Leconfield Aphrodite”, thought by some to be an original sculpture by the great Athenian sculptor of the fourth century BC, Praxiteles, though Raeder suggests it is a work of the early third century BC in Praxiteles’ style. George O’Brien Wyndham, the 3rd Earl (1751-1837), sponsored one of the greatest English painters, J. M. W. Turner, and collected Neoclassical art works. Study of the collection began in the late eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth, as Petworth was visited by a succession of antiquarians and art connoisseurs, including Charles Townley in 1779/80,<sup>2</sup> Carl Otfried Müller in 1822,<sup>3</sup> and Adolf Michaelis in 1877;<sup>4</sup> but Raeder notes that it was not until the twentieth century that Petworth escaped from the restricted world of the individual private collector and became accessible to a broader public. In 1915 Margaret Wyndham published the first respectable academic catalogue,<sup>5</sup> and since 1947 the house, its grounds and collection, have been curated by the National Trust for the benefit of the public.

Unfortunately the circumstances in which our inscription, the only substantial Greek or Latin inscription in the Petworth collection, was acquired, are obscure.<sup>6</sup> In 1915

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<sup>1</sup> “Petworth House ist seit dem 16. Jh. ein Haus der Kunst – ein Haus, in dem Kunst gesammelt und rezipiert und in dem Kunst gefördert und geschaffen wurde.” Raeder, 32, in the conclusion of an essay on the history of the House and its collection, “Petworth House: Porträt eines Landsitzes” (pp. 17-32). For a discussion of Petworth in the context of the history of Greek and Roman sculpture collections in the UK see Guilding, especially 1, 96-99, 129-34, 261-69.

<sup>2</sup> Recorded in his “Antient Marbles belonging to Lord Egremont at Petworth”, unpublished MS in the British Library referred to by Raeder, 27 n. 54.

<sup>3</sup> C. O. Müller, “Tagebücher”, in C. A. Bottiger ed., *Amalthea oder Museum der Kunstmythologie und bildlichen Altertumskunde* III (1825), 249ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882), 72f., 596ff.; cf. Raeder, 32 n. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Wyndham.

<sup>6</sup> See most recently Ehrhardt, in Raeder, 225. What is apparently the signature of an artist, Apollonios, is legible on the supporting pillar of the statue of a satyr, Michaelis, 600 no. 6 = Raeder, 55-57, no. 8 (read by Raeder as ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟ | [ . . ] | [ . . ] | ΕΠ[ . . ]). The date and place of origin of the statue (sometimes attributed to Praxiteles) and the authenticity of the signature (= *CIG* III 6138, *IG* XIV 132, Raeder p. 56) have been debated, but Raeder plausibly suggests that the statue is a late hellenistic/Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 370-360 BC. The signature is probably ancient, as Raeder also suggests, and might be contemporary with the statue, but in any case there seems no reason to identify it as Attic. The signature is not included in

Wyndham noted that “nothing is known of the stages by which [the inscription] travelled from its original home on the Acropolis to Petworth House, nor of the date when it arrived there”.<sup>7</sup> Carl Otfried Müller did not notice the inscription when he visited Petworth in 1822, and Wyndham speculated that it might have arrived subsequently with the two uninscribed Greek reliefs, nos. 13 (Raeder no. 85) and 72 (Raeder, no. 84), which Müller also failed to notice.<sup>8</sup> She observed that “treasures from Greece were beginning to arouse interest owing to the greater facilities of travel afforded by the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars, and the discussion over the purchase of the Elgin marbles [in 1816]”. One might add that the antiquities of Athens became more accessible following Greek independence in 1821 and this may have encouraged aristocratic emulation of Lord Elgin’s acquisitions, which included an extensive collection of Attic inscriptions, now mostly in the British Museum. The first published mention of the inscription is by Michaelis (1882) at which time it was already built into the (modern) base of, quite appropriately, a hellenistic statue of Artemis, where it is still today (Raeder no. 21), in Petworth’s “Marble Hall” (fig. 1).

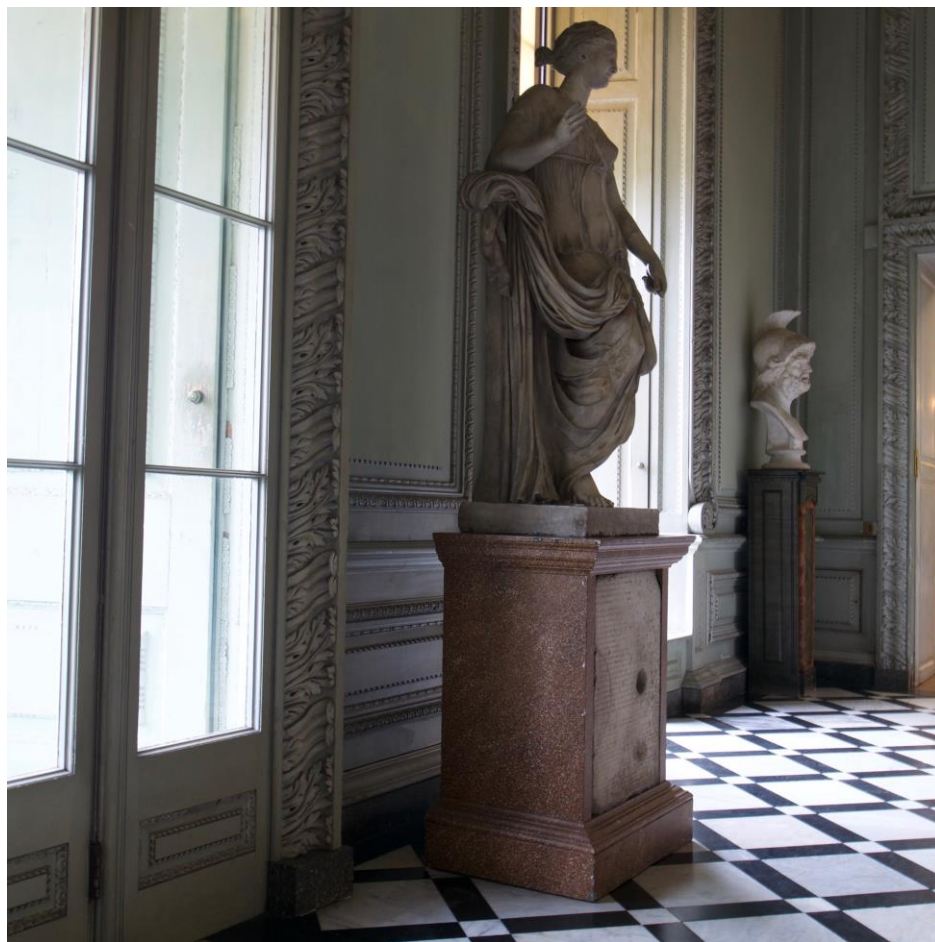


Figure 1. The inscription in its current location in Petworth’s “Marble Hall”

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S. Kansteiner et al. *Der Neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen* (2014), which lists no less than 14 artists named Apollonios (vol. 5, p. 678).

<sup>7</sup> Wyndham, 141. The inscription appears, built into its modern base, in a painting of the central aisle of the sculpture gallery at Petworth by Madeline Wyndham, ca. 1865. See Guilding, 261, with fig. 248.

<sup>8</sup> Wyndham, xxii. Neither of the uninscribed reliefs is Attic, however.

We can not be certain, therefore, that it is altogether by design, but as a matter of fact the inscription resonates strongly with its modern context, in that, curated as it is in an aristocratic “House of Art” including a significant number of hellenistic sculptures, its subject matter is the creation of a famous ancient “artwork”, Athena’s *peplos*, at a period contemporary with those sculptures, and in an eminently aristocratic milieu.



**1** HONOURS FOR MAIDENS WHO WORKED ON THE ROBE (*PEPLOS*) FOR ATHENA. EM 7787 (*a*), Petworth House 91 (= Sculpture 85; NT 486389) (*b*). *a* Acropolis, *b* Unknown. Two (non-joining?) fragments of a stele of white marble, associated by B. Nagy. *a* broken on all sides, h. 0.11, w. 0.18, th. 0.108, *b* left side preserved, h. 0.68, w. 0.48, th. unknown. Letter height 0.007 (0.005 e.g. some nus - 0.009 e.g. some alphas). Line spacing 0.014. “Cutter of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1008”, 118/7-97/6 BC (Tracy, *ALC* 196).

Eds. *a* IG II 5, 638b from transcript of H. G. Lolling, *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Berlin* 1887, p. 1193; IG II 1060; B. Nagy, *CP* 73, 1978, 136-41; *idem*, *GRBS* 19, 1978, 311-13 (ph. 1060 and detail of 1036, 20-25) (*SEG* 28.90); *b* U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.* 8, 1883, 57-66, from transcript and squeeze of A. S. Murray (IG II 5, 477d; IG II 1036); M. Wyndham, *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of Lord Leconfield* (1915), no. 85 (ph.); C. A. Hutton, *ABSA* 21, 1914-1916, 155-63 (ph.) (N. Ehrhardt, in J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House (West Sussex)*, 2000, 225-28 no. 91, ph.); *ab* S. B. Aleshire and S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 142, 2003, 65-86 (ph.) ([SEG 53.143](#)).

Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 20, 1897, 65 [= *Kl. Schriften* II 3, 223]; J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (1910), 106; K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1974), 55 no. 14; P. Gauthier, *Bull. ép.* 2004, no. 165; N. Robertson, *GRBS* 44, 2004, 111-61, at 139-50 (*SEG* 54.197); S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 167, 2008, 26 n. 33; *idem*, in R. W. V. Catling and F. Marchand eds., *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews* (2010), 143-52 at 147 (*SEG* 60.56); C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals* (2011), 205-12 (*SEG* 62.74); B. Wesenberg, *ZPE* 196, 2015, 103-15; M. Meyer, *Athena, Göttin von Athen. Kult und Mythos auf der Akropolis bis in klassische Zeit* (2017), 210-43. Photographs figs. 2-4 (fr. *b*).

108/7 BC or before	-----	<i>fr. a</i>	non-stoich.
decree 1	[-----]γων κα[-----]		
	[-----]της καὶ οἱ ἀθλοθέτα[-----]		
	[-----] καλῶς ποιησάμεναις τόν πέ[πλον -----]		
	[-----] τοῦ δήμου θαλλοῦ στεφά[νωι -----]		
5	[-----] πέ[πλου λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα Η[-----]		
	[-----] ἄγων]οθέτης εἰς τὴν πομπ[ῆν -----]		
	[-----] Ο[.] καθ[-----]		
	<i>lacuna ?</i>		
	[ <sup>-2</sup> ]ΕΧ[ <sup>-8-9</sup> ]α ταῦτα πομπε[-----]	<i>fr. b</i>	
	δαι παραλάβωσιν τὸν ἐφέτειον πέπλ[ο]ν [-----]		
10	ἰμάτιον ἐξάγωσιν, παραδιδότωσαν ταῖ[ς -----]		

συνεπιμελομένου τῆς διαιρέσεως [- - - - -]  
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται διαί[ρούμενοι ? - - - - -]  
 ας. *vacat*  
 108/7 BC *decree 2* ἐπὶ Δημοχάρου ἄρχοντος, ἐ[πὶ τῆς -- *tribe* -- *number of prytany* -- *πρυτανείας* ἥ -- *name of secretary* -- ]  
 15 Διονυσοδώρου Ἀγκυλῆ[θ]ε[ν ἐγραμμάτευεν - - - *month name* - - - *date in month* - - - - - ἐν?δε]-  
 κάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ[κλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν - *name of chairman* - Τι]-  
 μύλλου Ἐροιάδης καὶ συμπ[ρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· - *name and father's name of proposer* -]  
 Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ πρός[ο]δον π[ο(ι)ησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατέρες τῶν παρθένων]  
 τῶν ἡργασμένων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἐμφανίζουσιν παρηκολουθηκέναι αὐ]-  
 20 [τ]ὰς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφ[ισμένοις περὶ τούτων πᾶσι καὶ πεπο(ι)ηκέναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ πε]-  
 [πομ]πευκέναι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμέ[ν]α [ὥς ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ εὐσχημονέστατα, κατεσκευακέ]-  
 [ν]αι δὲ α[ὐ]τὰς ἐ[κ] τῶν ιδίων καὶ φιάλη[ν ἀργυρ]ᾶν ἀπὸ [δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, ἣν καὶ βούλεσθαι ἀναθεῖναι]  
 [τ]ῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐαυτῶν πρ[ὸς] τ[ὴν] θεὸν εὐσεβείας, καὶ παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν]  
 [δῆ]μον ἐπιχω[ρ]ῆσαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν [τ]ῇ[ς] φι[ά]λ[η]ς· ἀγαθὴ τύχη δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, τοὺς λαχόν]-  
 25 [τα]ς προέδρο[υ]ς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρημα[τίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσ]-  
 [θαι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ[ι], ἐπ[ι]κ[ε]χ[ωρ]ῆσθαι μὲν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν φι]-  
 [ά]λην, ἣν κατεσκευάκασιν αἱ παρθένοι καθάπε[ρ - - - - -]· ἐπαίνεσαι δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ στεφανῶσαι]  
 ἐκάστην αὐτῶν θαλ<λ>οῦ στεφάνῳ εὐσεβεῖ[ας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας]  
 [τ]ῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ὃ [Ι. .] ἀναγράφ[ηαι δὲ - -<sup>4-5</sup> - -][ - - -<sup>15-20</sup> - - - τοῦ ἀγῶ]-  
 30 [νο]θέτου τῶν Παναθηναίων Θεμιστοκλέου[ς - - - - -<sup>21-28</sup> - - - - - τὸν γραμματέα]  
 [τὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰστήλην λιθίνην τ[ὸ]ν ψήφισμ]α καὶ τὰ ὀνό[ματα τῶν παρθένων καὶ ἀνα]-  
 [θε]ῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος, [ῖνα - -<sup>8-12</sup> - - ἥι εὐπαρακολ]-  
 [ο]υθητὸς ἡ γεγονεῖα ὑπ' αὐτῶν περὶ ταῦτα σπουδὴ καὶ [φιλοπο]νία.

	Ἐρεχθεῖδος <sup>I</sup>	Ἀκαμα[ν]τίδος <sup>VI</sup>	Ἰπποθοντίδος <sup>IX</sup>
35	[Καλλ]ινίκη Αἰσχίνου Κηφισιέως	55 Κλεῶ Σωκράτ[ο]υ ἐκ Κεραμέων	75 - - - - -
	[Φιλω?]τέρα Γηροστράτου Λαμπτρέως	Ἀπολλωνία Ι[- <sup>3-5</sup> -]ου Χολαργέως	- - - - -
	[Διο]νυσία Διονυσίου Κηφισιέως	Κλεῶ Νικίου [Θ]ορικού	- - - - -
	[- <sup>3-5</sup> -]ππη Ὑψικλέους Λαμπτρέως	Καλλ[- <sup>4-7</sup> - Νί?]κων[ο]ς Σφηττίου	- - - - -

	[Καλ]λινόη Πύρρου Λαμπτρέως	Διοδ[ώρ]α [Ἀσκλά]που Σφηττίου	-----
40	[Ἀγαθ?]όκλεια Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκ Κηδῶν	60 Φιλωτέρα Φιλοθέου ἐκ Κεραμέων	/[-----]
	[Θεμ]ιστοδίκη Μικίωνος Κηφισιέως	Νικομ[άχ]η Ἀσκληπιάδου Σφηττίου	80 Βρα[-----]
	[ <sup>-3-5</sup> -]νίκη Πόλλιδος Περγασῆθεν	Φιλωτέρα Νικ[ομάχου] Χολαργέως	-----
	[ <sup>-3-5</sup> -]στράτη Θεογένου Λαμπτρέως	Πτ[ολεμαιίδος <sup>v</sup> ]	Γορ[γ-----]
	[Ξενο]στράτη Ἀγίου Εὐωνυμέως	Πανφίλη Ξε[νοκράτου? Κυδα]ντίδου	ΑΓ[-----]
45	[ <sup>-6-7</sup> -]α Μηνοδότου Λαμπτρέως	65 Αἰ[σχ?]ρον [ <sup>-2-3</sup> -]ικαλ[ <sup>-8-10</sup> -]ς	Μ[-----]
	Αἰγεῖδος <sup>II</sup>	Δημονίκη Διονυσοκλέ[ου]ς Ἑκαλήθεν	85 ΗΙ[-----]
	[ <sup>-3-4</sup> -]ὦ Πάτρωνος ἐγ Μυρρινούττης	Διονυσία Ἀσκληπιάδου Φλυέως	Ἡδ[-----]
	[ <sup>-4-5</sup> -]στη Σωσικράτου Φηγαίεως	Ἱερόκλεια Διονυσίου Φλυέως	<sup>vv</sup> [Αἰαντίδος <sup>x</sup> ]
	[Μυρῶ?] Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης	Ἀγαθόκλεια Βιόττου Φλυέως	-----
50	[ <sup>-5-7</sup> -]η Καλλίου Βατῆθεν	70 Μνησὼ Ἀσκληπιάδου Βερενικίδου	Κ[-----]
	[ <sup>-5-7</sup> -]λα Ἀρίστωνος Ἀγκυλῆθεν	Ἱστιάς Ἀριστομήδου Αἰγυλῆως	90 -----
	[ <sup>-7-9</sup> -] Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου Ὀτρυνέως	Δημοσστράτη Χαιρεφάνου Ἀφιδ[ναί]ου	Μ[-----]
	[ <sup>-10-11</sup> -] Σ[ <sup>-4-5</sup> -]ωνος Ἐρχιέως	Κλεοπάτ[ρα <sup>-2-4</sup> -] Λ[ <sup>-1-3</sup> -]δο[.] Βερ[ενικίδ]ου	-----
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*a* Nagy, *b* 8-33 Aleshire-Lam(bert) after Koe(hler), in 55-73 Wyndham's readings, fuller than previous eds., were mostly confirmed by Aleshire-Lam. Traces that cannot be resolved into letters are described by Aleshire-Lam. and are not reproduced above. || 1 παρθ]έγων or ἡργασμ]έγων καὶ or καλ[ῶς || 2 ἀγωνοθ]έτης Aleshire-Lam., ἐπιστ]άτης Nagy *CP* || 4 τῆς βουλῆς καὶ] Nagy || 5 ἀντὶ πέ]πλου Nagy || 6 in. Nagy *GRBS* after Koe., ἀθλ]οθέτης Nagy *CP* || 7 καθ[άπερ Nagy || 8 in. μέχρι ἂν Hutton || 8-9 Πραξιεργί]λδαι Nagy, Aleshire-Lam., or Εὐηνορί]λδαι Lam. 2008; ὅταν - Πραξιεργί]λδαι and ὅταν δὲ - τὸ] ἱμάτιον Robertson; [ἔρια δὲ, ἐπειδὸν Πραξιεργί]λδαι and [συλλεγέτωσαν καὶ ἐπειδὸν ἔδος ὑφ' or καὶ] ἱμάτιον Sourvinou-Inwood || 11 in. συνεπιμελο(υ)μένου Aleshire-Lam., but ἐπιμέλομαι for ἐπιμελοῦμαι is possible, cf. Threatte II 513-14 || 11 διαιρέσεως and 12 διαι[ρούμενοι Aleshire-Lam., διαφέσεως previous eds. and διαφ[υλάττοντες Hutton || 14-15 Aleshire-Lam., 73-75, rejected the fuller restoration of the dating formulae by previous eds. || 15 fin.-23 Koe. from *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034*, 2-15 || 22 med. Aleshire-Lam., cf. *1034*, 12-13, φι[άλην ἀπὸ Koe. || 27 med. καθάπε[ρ ἐψήφισται *vel sim.* Aleshire-Lam. || 27 fin. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὰς παρθένους καὶ Koe., ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ Aleshire-Lam. || 28 ΘΑΛΟΥ stone, cf. Threatte I 514 || 29 ἀναγράφ[ψαι following a light erasure Aleshire-Lam., [ἐ]π[ιμελῆθ]ῃναι δὲ τῶν στεφάνων τοὺς πατέρας μετὰ τοῦ ἀγών]οθέτου Hutton || 32 fin. Wilhelm, τούτων συντελουμένων ἢ ἀκολλο]υθητὸς Koe. || 35 Sundwall || 36 Φιλω]τέρα Hutton, or e.g.

Περιστερά Aleshire-Lam. || 37 Koe. || 39 Wyndham, Aleshire-Lam., -θή Koe. || 40 Aleshire-Lam., Ἰερόκλεια Hutton || 41 Aleshire-Lam., Ἀριστοδίκη Wyndham || 43 [Λυ]σιστράτη Wyndham || 44 Koe. || 48-52 Aleshire-Lam. || 53 Στράτωνος or -ς Ἀρ[ίσ]τωνος Aleshire-Lam. || 56 [Ἰσ]ομάχου Wyndham || 58 Aleshire-Lam., Καλλίκλεια Φορμίωνος Hutton || 62. 64. 65. Aleshire-Lam. || 65 fin. Φλυέως ? || 66 Aleshire-Lam., Διονυσόδωρου Wyndham. || 72 Δημοσστράτη, cf. Threatte I 527-28.

#### *Fragment a*

##### *Decree 1*

...  
 ... [the sponsor?] and the Games-masters ...  
 ... for those (*fem.*) who made the robe well ...  
 ... the People a foliage crown ...  
 5 ... the robe ... white raiment ...  
 ... sponsor for the procession (?) ...  
 ...

#### *Fragment b*

... these ... in process[ion] ...  
 [Praxiergi or Euenori]dai receive the year's robe ...  
 10 mantle, they march out *or* take out *or* they remove the mantle, they shall hand over to the (*fem. pl.*) ...  
 (*masc. sing.*) taking joint care of the division *or* distribution ... [so that]  
 the Council and People may be seen to divide *or* distribute (?) ...  
 ...

##### *Decree 2*

In the archonship of Demochares (108/7), [in the - prytany, of -, for which -]  
 15 son of Dionysodoros of Ankyle was secretary, [on the - of *month*, the eleventh?]  
 of the prytany. Principal Assembly in the theatre. Of the presiding committee, - son of  
 Timyllos of Eroiadai was putting to the vote and his fellow presiding committee members. The Council and the People decided; - son of -  
 of Melite proposed: since, having made an approach to the Council, the fathers of the maidens  
 who have worked the wool for Athena for her robe make clear that they (*scil.* the maidens) have followed  
 20 all the decrees of the People regarding these matters and have done what is right and have  
 taken part in the procession in accordance with the prescriptions in the most fine and seemly manner possible, and have also prepared  
 from their own resources a silver bowl worth a hundred drachmas, which they wish to dedicate

to Athena as a memorial of their piety towards the goddess; and they request the Council and People to permit the dedication of the bowl; with good fortune, the Council shall decide, that those allotted 25 to preside at the next Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit to the People the opinion of the Council that it seems good to the Council to permit the dedication of the bowl which the maidens have prepared as [decreed?, and to praise them and crown] each of them with a foliage crown for their piety towards the gods and their love of honour towards the Council and People; and there shall be inscribed . . . of the sponsor 30 of the Panathenaia, Themistokles . . . by the prytany secretary on a stone stele the decree and the names [of the maidens and] it shall be set up on the acropolis by the temple of Athena Polias, in order that . . . the zeal and love of toil they have shown in these matters may be readily emulated.

<i>col. 1</i>	<i>col. 2</i>	<i>col. 3</i>
Erechtheis <sup>I</sup>	Akamantis <sup>VI</sup>	[Hippothontis <sup>IX</sup> ]
35 [Kalli]nike daughter of Aischines of Kephisia	55 Kleo daughter of Sokrates of Kerameis	...
[Philo?]tera daughter of Gerostratos of Lamptrai	Apollonia daughter of - of Cholargos	75 ...
[Dio]nysia daughter of Dionysios of Kephisia	Kleo daughter of Nikias of Thorikos	...
[-]ppe daughter of Hypsikles of Lamptrai	Kall- daughter of Nikon (?) of Sphettos	...
[Kal]linoe daughter of Pyrrhos of Lamptrai	Diodora daughter of Asklapos of Sphettos	...
40 [Agath?]okleia daughter of Agathokles of Kedoi	60 Philotera daughter of Philotheos of Kerameis	...
[Them]istodike daughter of Mikion of Kephisia	Nikomache daughter of Asklepiades of Sphettos	80 Bra- ...
[-]nike daughter of Pollis of Pergase	Philotera daughter of Nikomachos of Cholargos	...
[-]strate daughter of Theogenes of Lamptrai	Ptolemais <sup>V</sup>	Gorg- ...
[Xeno]strate daughter of Agias of Euonymon	Pamphile daughter of Xe[nokrates?] of Kydantidai	Ag- or Hag- ...
45 [-]a daughter of Menodotos of Lamptrai	65 Ai[sch?]ron daughter of - of -	M-
Aigeis <sup>II</sup>	Demonike daughter of Dionysokles of Hekale	85 E- or He-
[-]o daughter of Patron of Myrrhinoutta	Dionysia daughter of Asklepiades of Phlya	Hed-
[-]ste daughter of Sosikrates of Phegaia	Hierokleia daughter of Dionysios of Phlya	[Aiantis <sup>X</sup> ]
[Myro?] daughter of Theodoros of Myrrhinoutta	Agathokleia daughter of Biottos of Phlya	...
50 [-]e daughter of Kallias of Bate	70 Mneso daughter of Asklepiades of Berenikidai	K-
[-]la daughter of Ariston of Ankyle	Isias daughter of Aristomedes of Aigilia	90 ...
- daughter of Apollonides (?) of Otryne	Demonstrate daughter of Chairephanes of Aphidna	M-
- daughter of -on of Erchia	Kleopatra daughter of - of Berenikidai (?)	...
...	...	...



The Petworth inscription is the earliest of a series of three inscriptions dating to around the last decade of the second century BC which relate to the maidens (*parthenoi*) who “worked the wool for Athena for her robe (*peplos*)” (l. 19), illuminating an important aspect of Athenian ritual and supplying valuable prosopographical data about female members of elite Athenian families of this period. It is inscribed with parts of two decrees of the Athenian Assembly, the beginnings of the last six lines of a decree which apparently contained general provisions relating to the *peplos* (decree 1), and a more fully preserved decree honouring the maidens who worked on the *peplos* in 108/7 BC (archon Demochares,<sup>9</sup> l. 14; decree 2). Since 1978 it has been known that a small fragment in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens is also part of our decree 1. It not only has the same subject-matter and script, but also displays the same unusual type of wear as the upper part of the inscription in Petworth: swelling of letter strokes caused by standing water.<sup>10</sup> We do not know whether the Athens fragment makes a physical join with the Petworth one, or if there was a gap between them. A socket for a door-post centre-right of the Petworth stone shows that it was re-used as a threshold block (a quite common secondary use for Athenian inscriptions). The surface to the upper right of the socket has been worn smooth by the swinging of and passage through the door. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 + 1943](#) (cf. Tracy, *ALC* 216-19) of 103/2 BC (archon Theokles) honours a named list of maidens in similar terms to our decree 2, and its better preserved text helps us to restore missing parts of decree 2. [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1942](#), of ca. 100 BC, is part of a list of maidens that was presumably appended to a comparable decree. These three inscriptions thus appear to reflect a reform or revival of the arrangements for the *peplos* which took effect in or shortly before 108/7. We know nothing about the circumstances, unless perhaps there was a connection with the Themistokles mentioned as financial sponsor (*agonothetes*) of the Panathenaia in ll. 29-30. Clinton suggested that this Themistokles was the Themistokles son of Theophrastos of Hagnous who was later a leading official (dadouch, or torchbearer) of the Eleusinian Mysteries and whose wife, Akestion, is mentioned by Pausanias 1.37.1 as a descendant of the famous fifth-century Themistokles, and as fortunate enough to have not only a father, grandfather and great-grandfather who were dadouchs, but a brother, husband and son who held the same office.<sup>11</sup> The grandson of this Themistokles, also called Themistokles, was dadouch in the Augustan period and was also a reformer of religious institutions.<sup>12</sup> The orthography συνεπιμελομένου rather than συνεπιμελουμένου, l. 11, if from the verb συνεπιμελοῦμαι, would suit the period before ca. 325, when -ου was commonly written -ο in Attic inscriptions, and Aleshire-Lambert raised the possibility that decree 1 dated originally to

<sup>9</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Historia* 26, 1977, 187.

<sup>10</sup> The association was confirmed by Aleshire-Lambert, 70, cf. 67.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Aleshire-Lambert, 78; J. Blok and S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 169, 2009, 117, dadouch no. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Honorand of [I Eleus. 300](#), Blok-Lambert dadouch no. 16, cf. S. B. Aleshire and S. D. Lambert, in J. Richardson and F. Santangelo eds., *Priests and State in the Roman World* (2011), 553-75.

the Lykourgan period, ca. 338-325, and was here being reinscribed.<sup>13</sup> That period had witnessed vigorous reform of the festival programme, including the Panathenaia ([IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 447](#) and [352](#), with notes), and of the ephebate, the system of military training and acculturation of young men which can be viewed in some ways as the masculine equivalent of service on the *peplos* ([RO 89](#) with notes). But the orthography συνεπιμελομένου may be due not to -ο for -ου, but to derivation from ἐπιμέλομαι, a variant of the more common ἐπιμελοῦμαι occasionally found in inscriptions of the hellenistic and Roman periods,<sup>14</sup> and it is thus also possible that decree 1 was a new measure in 108/7 BC.

Three festivals in the Athenian year featured the old wooden statue of Athena on the acropolis, which was normally kept in the temple of Athena Polias (part of the Erechtheum complex):<sup>15</sup> (1) the Chalkeia in the autumn month Pyanopsion, at which the *arrhephoroi*, four girls aged 7 to 11, helped the priestess of Athena set up the loom for making the *peplos*;<sup>16</sup> (2) the Plynteria and Kallynteria in the spring month Thargelion, at which the statue and its clothing were ritually washed in the sea;<sup>17</sup> and (3) the Panathenaia in the summer month Hekatombaion (first month of the Athenian year), at which the newly woven *peplos* was presented.<sup>18</sup> The Panathenaia is the main focus of decree 2: the *agonothetes* of the Panathenaia is referred to in the decree's inscribing clause (ll. 29-30), and the procession that the maidens participated in at ll. 20-21 should therefore have been the Panathenaic procession.<sup>19</sup> The *agonothetes* is also referred to in relation to the procession in l. 6 of decree 1, and probably also in l. 2 together with the *athlothetai*, a board of officials with administrative responsibilities for the Panathenaia, including oversight of production of the *peplos*.<sup>20</sup> Ll. 4-5 of decree 1 mention "those who have made the *peplos* well" and the award of a foliage crown. Perhaps this was the provision under which decree 2 was passed (but see further below). In l. 5 someone connected with the *peplos* wears clothing of virginal white, perhaps the *arrhephoroi* (said by Harp. α 240 s.v. *arrhephorein* to have worn white clothing), perhaps our maidens. It is less certain that we have to do with the Panathenaic procession in ll. 9-12, which both Robertson and Sourvinou-Inwood refer instead to the Plynteria/Kallynteria. In l. 9 a *genos* receives the current year's *peplos*. This may be the Praxiergidai, whose privilege of putting the *peplos* on the statue was confirmed in the fifth century BC by [IG I<sup>3</sup> 7](#); or it may be

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<sup>13</sup> The imperative form παραδιδότωσαν would be inconsistent with a date before ca. 350, cf. Threatte II 463.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Threatte II 513-14.

<sup>15</sup> On the statue see Meyer, 147-55.

<sup>16</sup> Harp. α 240 s.v. *arrhephorein*; Etym. Mag. p. 805.43-47 and Suid. χ 35 s.v. *Chalkeia*, cf. Parker, 464-65.

<sup>17</sup> Parker, 474-75 and 478-79; see also the more speculative reconstructions by Robertson and Sourvinou-Inwood.

<sup>18</sup> Parker, 264-66; Sourvinou-Inwood, 263-311. Most scholars interpret the central scene of the Parthenon frieze as depicting the presentation of the *peplos* at the Panathenaia. For this, and discussion of alternatives, see Parker, 265; Sourvinou-Inwood, 284-311; Meyer, 230-40.

<sup>19</sup> The *parthenoi* who are depicted on the Parthenon frieze at the front of the procession may represent our maidens or their classical predecessors, cf. Parker, 264, but also Wesenberg, 112.

<sup>20</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 60; Aleshire-Lambert, 71.

the Euenoridai, who are mentioned in the same context as “putting on” ([ἐν]δύναι καὶ ἀμφιέσαι) and “the Aglaurion” in a fragmentary inscription that has recently been published.<sup>21</sup> Aglauros featured in the mythology of the Plynteria, which marked the first washing of the sacred garments that had been left unwashed for a year after her death.<sup>22</sup> As for the *himation* mentioned in l. 10, Robertson, 146, suggests that it was an old mantle removed because it was replaced with a new one at the Kallynteria, thus identifying it with the *pharos* (“cloak”) provided for Athena biennially in Thargelion in the late-fifth century revision of the city’s sacrificial calendar, [SEG 52.48A](#) F3, col. 1, ll. 7-8. Sourvinou-Inwood, 208 and 215, thinks instead of a cloth in which the statue of Athena was temporarily wrapped when taken out of the temple at the start of its procession to the sea at the Plynteria, or when taken out of the sea after its ritual bath. In ll. 11-12 decree 1 appears to regulate the division or perhaps rather the distribution of something, perhaps the wool for making the following year’s *peplos*.<sup>23</sup>

Several elements in the picture remain obscure. It is unclear if our maidens were given the entire task of preparing the *peplos*, or merely the pre-weaving stages of wool preparation, cleaning, combing and spinning, with the weaving undertaken perhaps by the mature women who are associated with *peplos*-making in fifth-century tragedy and comedy.<sup>24</sup> E. J. W. Barber, in J. Neils ed., *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992), 103-17, following J. M. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos* (PhD., 1985), limited them to the early stages, Aleshire-Lambert, 75-77 to the weaving stage; Sourvinou-Inwood, 206, suggested that they wove one year’s *peplos* and prepared the wool for the following year’s; Robertson, 143-44, and Wesenberg, are persuaded that they were limited to wool preparation, taking “those who have made the *peplos* well” in decree 1 to be mature women, distinct from our maidens. This point determines whether our maidens are identifiable with the *ergastinai* who according to Hesychius “weave the *peplos*” (αἱ τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσιν). Whatever precisely they contributed to the work, the maidens must have been tutored and supervised, presumably under the overall oversight of the priestess of Athena Polias.

A *peplos* was a rectangular woollen cloth that could be worn as a garment.<sup>25</sup> Athena’s *peplos* was coloured and normally depicted mythical battle scenes of gods and Giants;<sup>26</sup> its design was sufficiently important in classical Athens to be adjudicated by the Council, later by a court;<sup>27</sup> and it was displayed in the Panathenaic procession as the “sail” of the Panathenaic cart or “ship”.<sup>28</sup> Mansfield suggested that

<sup>21</sup> See [SEG 58.145](#) with Parker ap. Sourvinou-Inwood, 220.

<sup>22</sup> Phot. κ 124 s.v. *Kallynteria kai Plynteria*.

<sup>23</sup> Aleshire-Lambert, 73; Sourvinou-Inwood, 208-14.

<sup>24</sup> Eur. *Iph. T.* 222-24; Eur. *Hec.* 466-74; Ar. *Birds* 827; cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.86-98 and 269-311; Aleshire-Lambert, 75-77.

<sup>25</sup> Barber, 111; Aleshire-Lambert, 71-72.

<sup>26</sup> Plato, *Euthyphro* 6b7-c4 etc. It was said that when at the end of the 4th century the Macedonian leaders who controlled Athens at the time, Antigonos and Demetrios, presumed to have themselves depicted on it, it was ripped by the wind during the procession, Diod. 20.46.2, Plut. *Demetrios* 10.4, 12.3, citing a passage of comic poet Philippides, *PCG* F25, from which the anecdote doubtless derives.

<sup>27</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 49.3.

there were two types of *peplos*, a smaller garment for the wooden statue of Athena offered annually at the Little Panathenaia, and a larger one every four years displayed as the sail of the Panathenaic ship in the procession at the Great Panathenaia and, after the procession, perhaps hung on the wall inside the Parthenon or the temple of Athena Polias. The theory has been influential (accepted e.g. by Sourvinou-Inwood, 267), though the evidence for it is inconclusive.<sup>29</sup> In this period 110/9 BC and 106/5 BC were Great Panathenaic years. It has generally been assumed that the *peplos* worked on by our maidens was that presented at the Little Panathenaia of 108/7 BC and the *peplos* worked on by the honorands of [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 + 1943](#) at the Little Panathenaia of 103/2 BC. [1034 + 1943](#) was passed in Gamelion, i.e. in the winter following the celebration of the Panathenaia in the previous summer; we do not know if [1036 + 1060](#) was also passed in Gamelion. Most scholars have accordingly inferred that we have to do in these texts with an annual *peplos*, and this is the best evidence we have for one, though ἐφέτειος πέπλος at l. 9 probably means not “annual” *peplos*, but the “current year’s” *peplos*.<sup>30</sup> Wesenberg, however, suggests that the maidens of our decrees may have been honoured for the pre-weaving stages of wool-preparation for a *peplos* that was eventually to be presented at the following Great Panathenaia (i.e. in 106/5 BC, or in the case of [1034 + 1943](#), 102/1 BC). Meyer, 221-26, 455-56, agrees that it is unclear for which year’s *peploi* the maidens of our decrees are being honoured, but continues to believe that the reference to an ἐφέτειος πέπλος implies that a *peplos* was in fact presented every year. The extent to which the role assigned to our maidens was an innovation in 108/7 BC is also unclear, since we lack reliable evidence on those who did the work before this.<sup>31</sup>

Rituals involving the making and presentation of garments (sometimes but not always *peploi*) for cult statues were widespread in the Greek world.<sup>32</sup> The archetype is the presentation by the women of Troy of a *peplos* made by women of Sidon to Athena in her temple on the Trojan acropolis at Hom. *Il.* 6.86-98 and 269-311, cf. Statius, *Thebaid* 10.54-69; and similar rituals are attested for Hera and Athena at Argos, for Apollo at Amyklai and for Hera at Olympia.<sup>33</sup> The Plynteria was also a widespread, deeply rooted, rite; in Athens it took place in Thargelion, the penultimate month of the year, but some Ionian cities had a month named after it, Plynterion,<sup>34</sup> and in Attica it is also attested locally, notably in the ancient south-eastern coastal deme of Thorikos ([OR 146](#), ll. 52-53). From one perspective these rituals served to sanctify, and so reinforce, a social stereotype of textile-making and washing as central female roles, and the involvement of young girls in the task as *arrhephoroi* and of adolescent maidens such as those honoured in our inscription doubtless played a part in the education of those involved, both cultural and practical. From another perspective the participation of the maidens in the Panathenaic

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<sup>28</sup> PCG Strattis F31, schol. VEF<sup>3</sup>OM Ar. *Knights* 566a, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 877](#), 14-15, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Aleshire-Lambert, 72.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Aleshire-Lambert, 72.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Meyer, 456.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Meyer, 226-27.

<sup>33</sup> Aleshire-Lambert, 71-72; on Hera see V. Pirenne-Delforge, G. Pironti, *L'Héra de Zeus. Ennemie intime, épouse définitive* (2016), 126-27, 175-78.

<sup>34</sup> C. Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (1997), 71-72.

procession and the display of their handiwork in the completed *peplos* may have played a role in advertising them to eligible bachelors as suitable marriage partners.<sup>35</sup> It has also been suggested that there was cultural and educational significance in the fact that the time taken to prepare the *peplos*, from Chalkeia to Panathenaia, 9 months, aligned with the human gestation period.<sup>36</sup> From yet another perspective, the *peplos* was also an important symbol of Athenian identity beyond the female sphere: presentation of the new *peplos* to the city's patron deity was a central feature of the city's principal festival, the Panathenaia, and the (male) chorus-leader of Aristophanes' *Knights*, wishing to praise "our fathers" for their military exploits asserts that they were men "worthy of this land and of the *peplos*" (566).

The *parthenoi* who participated in this work at this time were typically teenage members of Athenian elite families, with fathers who were holders of city offices in around the same period and brothers or cousins who were ephebes in 107/6 or 102/1.<sup>37</sup> The relatively equal numbers of maidens per tribe, 8-12, suggests that there may have been a tribally based selection or quota system (as the *peplos* for Hera at Olympia was woven by 16 women representing the 16 cities of Elis, Paus. 5.16.2-5). The listing of the maidens of the tribe Akamantis before those of Ptolemais in col. 2 breaches the order usually observed in lists of this kind, but is probably not significant. A few of the maidens on our list reappear in the list of 103/2, and some of those on the 103/2 list on the list of ca. 100 BC. The total, ca. 120, is comparable to the annual enrolment of ephebes at this period (though Meyer, 227, notes that there may have been more tendency for service on the *peplos* to be iterated, or extended over a number of years, than was the case with ephebic service). The ephebate in its Lykourgan manifestation was more socially inclusive than it became in hellenistic Athens (see [RO 89](#) with commentary), and we need not assume that any women or girls who worked on the *peplos* in classical Athens were drawn from such a narrow social milieu. Typically the families of these late second-century maidens can be traced back to the fourth century BC, but became prominent only after the liberation of Athens from Macedon in 229 BC and particularly on the back of wealth derived from Athenian control of Delos after 166 BC. Few of them are attested after Athens' decision to side with Mithridates against Rome and the consequent sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC.

The public life of the city was a predominantly masculine arena and though the honorific decree had since the mid-fifth century been much the most common, and by this period was almost the only, type of Assembly decree to be inscribed on stone, inscribed decrees honouring Athenian women or girls are unusual. Religion was the main sphere of public life in which females played a significant role and apart from this group most decrees honouring females that survive honour priestesses.<sup>38</sup> As unmarried girls the maidens are represented in

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Parker, 264. One might note in this connection that the Akestion who, as we noted above, was to marry Themistokles the putative *agonothetes* of the Panathenaia in 108/7 BC, was one of the maidens who worked on the *peplos* in 103/2 BC, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 + 1943](#), 48. We do not know whether she had also served in 108/7 BC since the list of the tribe Oineis for that year is not preserved.

<sup>36</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood, 268.

<sup>37</sup> P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes* (1987), 100-105; for detailed notes on readings of the names and prosopography of the maidens see Aleshire-Lambert, 79-86; further observations at Lambert 2010, 147.

<sup>38</sup> Discussed by Lambert, in M. Horster and A. Klöckner eds., *Civic Priests. Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity* (2012), 67-133.



public by their fathers, who have made representations to the Council on their behalf. As was normally the case at this period, the Assembly's resulting decree is probouleumatic, i.e. it follows the wording of the Council's proposal to honour them; ll. 24-26 contain the "probouleumatic formula" that had been conventional in such decrees since the fourth century BC. It was also common for Athenians honoured by decrees of the Assembly to make dedications to the gods commemorating their honour. In the fourth century these were sometimes paid for from public funds; it is characteristic hellenistic practice to emphasise that they have been paid for from the honorands' "own resources" (l. 22). *Eusebeia*, "piety", can be displayed by either sex, but *philotimia*, "honour-loving behaviour", is more characteristic of the masculine competition for honour which operated as a powerful driver of action in the public arena, and in third-century decrees honouring priestesses there is a certain reluctance to ascribe it to a woman.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, however, there is no such hesitation here (ll. 28-29). On the other hand, while it had been common since the mid-fourth century to ascribe a "hortatory" intention to inscribing honorific decrees (l. 33), it is the maidens' zeal and love of toil that are held up for emulation, not their *philotimia*. The acropolis was much the most common location for inscribed decrees, but the provision to set this one up by the temple of Athena Polias (l. 32) is unusual in naming a specific acropolis location, characteristically with a religious charge appropriate to the content of the decree and designed to convey a message to a group of affected viewers, in this case successive groups of maidens working on the *peplos* for the statue of Athena housed there.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Lambert, *Civic Priests*, 80-81.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. P. Liddel, *ZPE* 143, 2003, 81; *IALD* II 27.

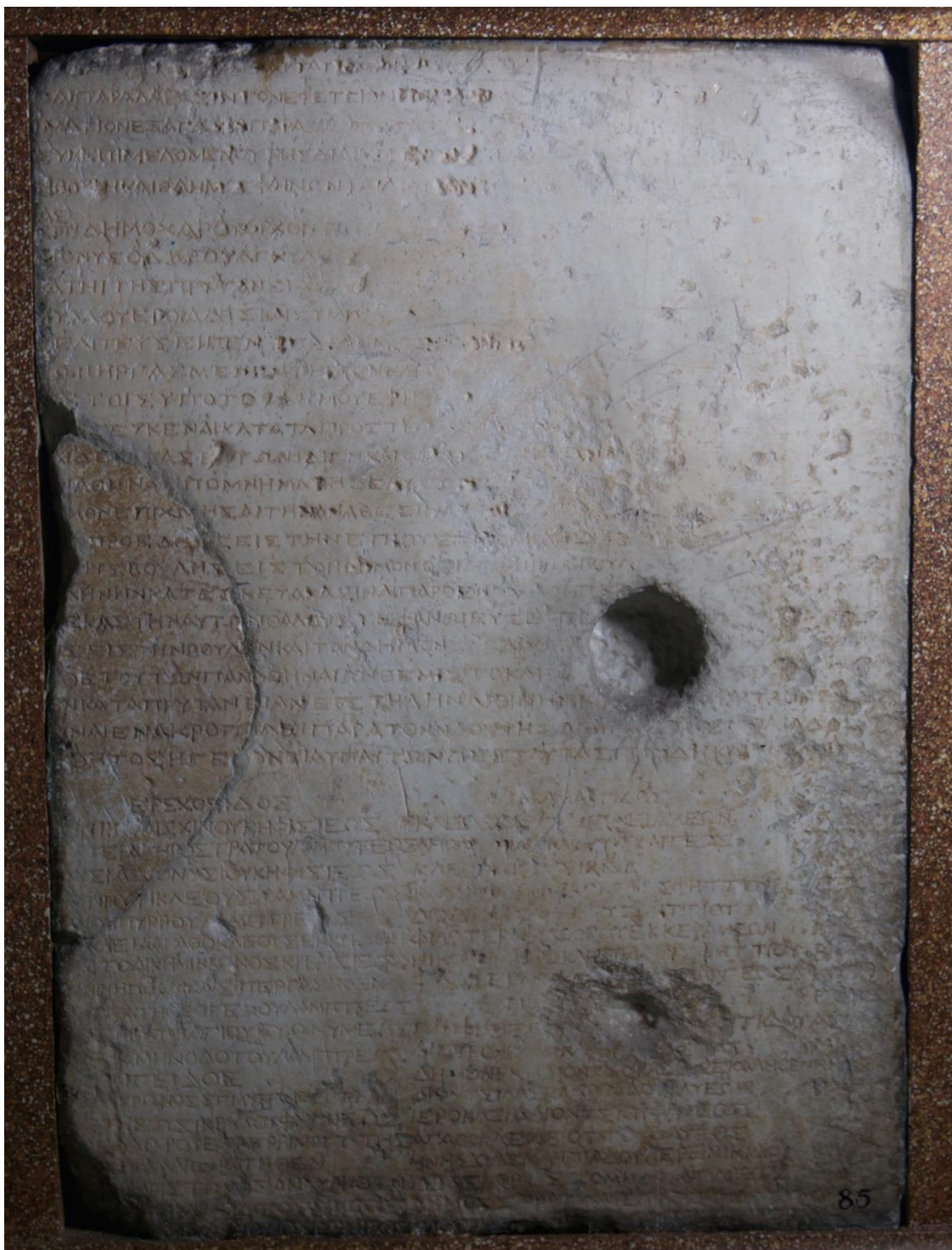


Figure 2. Petworth House 91 (= fr. b)



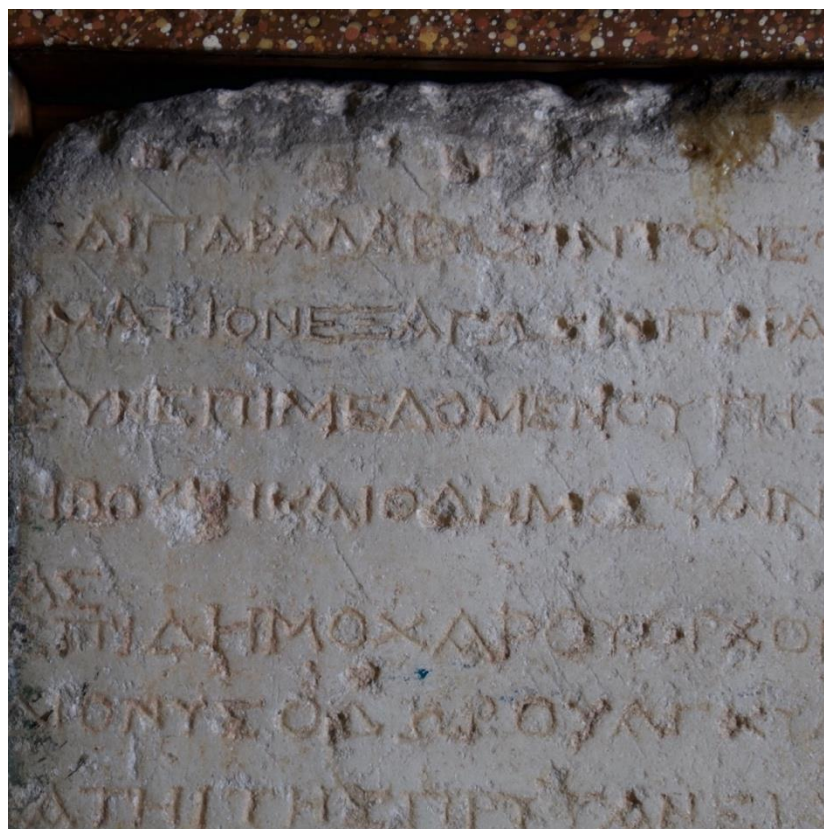


Figure 3. Petworth House 91 (= fr. b), detail of ll. 8-16

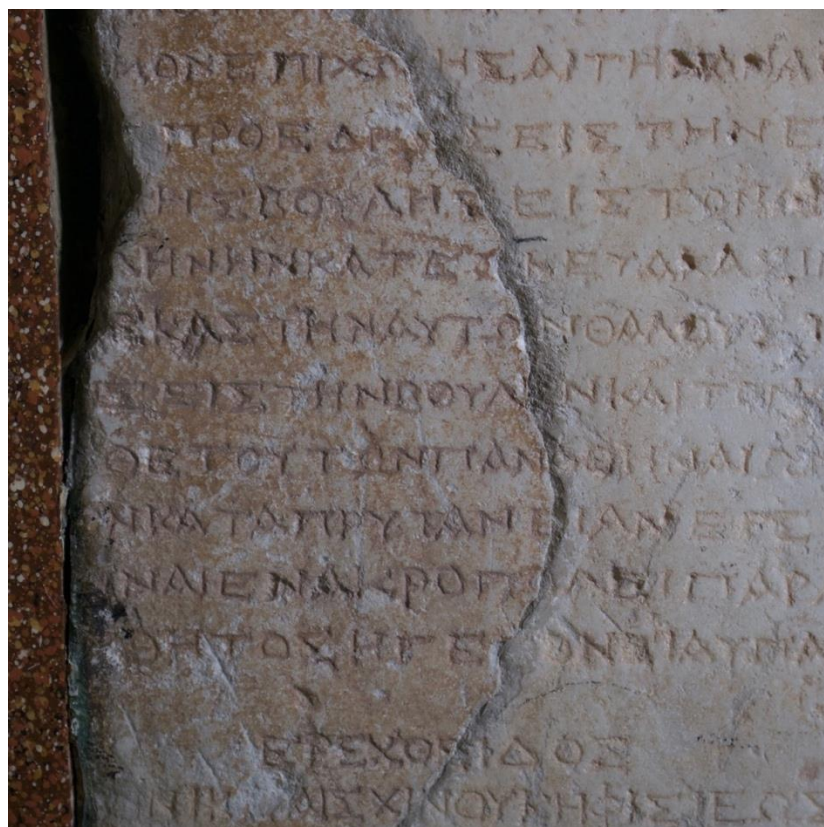


Figure 4. Petworth House 91 (= fr. b), detail of ll. 24-35